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THE TABLET.

No. XCVIII.

"TAKE AWAY THRONES AND CROWNS FROM AMONG "MEN, AND THERE WILL SOON BE AN END OF ALL DOMIN-"ION AND JUSTICE."

NOTHING admits of clearer demonstration than that man is naturally inclined to reſiſt government. The terms made uſe of, in the definition of civil duties, denote our inherent averſion to obedience. It will be aſked how this can be reconciled with the univerſal practice of mankind, in voluntarily yielding to inſtitutions for the expreſs purpoſe of being governed? And, though in many countries the eſtabliſhed ſubordination is a matter of force, yet if the people were left to the unreſtrained ejoyment of their natural liberty they would not long remain ſo. Some act or other would indicate a general conſent to ſurrender part of their perſonal rights. There is, indeed, no ſentiment of the human mind that ſo well deſerves to be called original or inſtinctive, as that propenſity men diſcover to bind themſelves by rules and aſſociations. One ſhould not paſs over this apparent contradiction without endeavouring to find a ſolution.

The actions of no individual are perfectly conſiſtent. Every perſon has paſſions that are more or leſs at variance, and different affections, by turns, preponderate. The ſocial diſpoſitions operate ſo far as to induce men to aſſociate with each other, for the purpoſe of mutual protection. It requires a leſs conqueſt over the private paſſions to enter into aſſociations, than it does to obſerve them. The ſame man may chearfully give his aſſent to ſome common regulations for the public welfare; who, in the general tenor of his conduct is actuated by ſuch perſonal and ſelfiſh motives as are repugnant to the very compact he has ſubſcribed. His ſenſe of duty is not ſufficient to ſecure his obſervance, when it comes in competition with any of the vigorous paſſions of his nature. The moſt that can be expected from his reaſoning on the ſubject, or from his feelings of obligation, is that he ſhould afford his aid in ſuppreſſing or puniſhing the diſobedience of others.

For, bad as a man may be himſelf, he is willing the wickedneſs of other people ſhould be reſtrained. He is indeed ſenſible that he has moſt to fear from perſons moſt like himſelf, and will ſooner take part with the law than with the violator. This however may not be the caſe, when he is in ſuch a ſituation, that his own exemption or eſcape depends on a combination with other tranſgreſſors. A man may be dilatory and even knaviſh in his manner of diſcharging his own engagements, and yet he will with alacrity aſſiſt the civil officer in compelling others to their duty. An indolent, faithleſs hireling will complain of others of a like ſtamp and take delight in their puniſhment. In fine, man is ſelfiſh only for himſelf. By entering into ſociety he does not neceſſarily loſe his native love of liberty, but he in ſome meaſure becomes the enemy of that of other people? He is habitually exerciſed with a deſire to re-aſſume the rights he has himſelf relinquiſhed, and to dminiſh thoſe which other people have retained. When he is called upon to obey the laws, his averſion to perſonal reſtraint muſt be overcome by cauſes more powerful than induced his conſent to an original compact. His attention, in the act of inſtituting government, is principally employed in contemplating the advantages he will derive in having other people laid under control. While he is making the aſſociation, the ardor of private paſſions may be ſo far abſorded by the occaſion as to produce an acquieſcence to legal inſtitutions. But he is ſoon impelled by different feelings, and he muſt have ſome ſtronger motive for obeying the laws, than what will reſult from the conſideration that he has promiſed obedience.

In conſidering the ſubject hitherto, I have embraced the ſuppoſition that all men have voluntarily entered into the form of government, under which they exiſt. I have meant to illuſtrate, that notwitſtanding there was a perfect acquieſcence in the original compact, men are naturally and ſtrongly impelled to elude or violate it. But I have taken a poſition that facts, in very few inſtances, will authorize. Where is the country that the people are univerſally in favor of their political conſtitution? The idea of original compact, as a matter of fact, is altogether deluſive. It is a juſt, theoretic principle and only means, that men would, if left to themſelves, adopt ſome regulations relative to protection and allegiance. Few people however were ever bleſſed with an opportunity for the purpoſe; for it has generally happened that government has been framed under circumſtances of compulſion or artifice. In thoſe caſes, where the people are ſaid to have combined freely into a ſtate of government, there may ſtill be a powerful minority, who do not feel perſonably reſponſible, in point of conſcience, to obſerve thoſe laws, or defend that community, to which in ſentiment they are oppoſed. This brings me to the idea inculcated in my motto. There muſt be ſome adventitious properties infuſed into the government to give it energy and ſpirit, or the ſelfiſh, turbulent paſſions of men can never be controuled. This has occaſioned that artificial ſplendor and dignity that are to be found in the courts of ſo many nations. Some admiration and reſpect muſt be excited towards public officers, by their holding a real or ſuppoſed ſuperiority over the maſs of the people. The ſanctions and penalties of law are likewiſe requiſite to aid in reſtraining individuals from trampling upon and demoliſhing the government.

It is confeſſed that, in ſome ſituations, a ſmall degree of parade and ſolemnity, co-operating with other cauſes, may be ſufficient to ſecure obedience to the laws. In an early ſtate of ſociety, when the deſires of men are few and eaſily ſatisfied, the temptations to treſpaſs upon good order and juſtice are neither preſſing nor numerous. Avarice and ambition encreaſe with population; and in a large opulent community the dazzling appendages and pompous formalities of courts are introduced to form a balance to the encreaſing ardor of the ſelfiſh paſſions, and to check that aſcendency which aſpiring individuals would otherwiſe gain over the public peace and authority.

In a wiſe, enlightened community, where information is generally ſpread among the inhabitants, the ſplendor and pageantry of office do not excite any high degree of awe or reſpect. The people of the United States may probably be induced to regard and obey the laws without riſquing the experiment of expenſive courts and titled monarchs. There is a reverence paid, by a ſenſible nation, to wiſdom and virtue, that is equivalent in point of maintaining ſubordination, to thoſe magnificent eſtabliſhments, which are required in governing an ignorant, ſervile people. It cannot be determined how far it will be requiſite for the United States to aſſume a ſplendor in its public inſtitutions. In proportion as we become populous, and wealthy, muſt the tone of government be ſtrengthened, unleſs the people ſhould progreſs in knowledge and virtue by a diffuſive, judicious plan of education. An education not merely of ſcience but of morals. If good principles are inculcated, and good habits formed by education, we may perhaps avoid the occaſion of expenſive, ſplendid arrangements, in order to give ſtability and procure ſubordination to the government. This is a matter that will in ſome degree regulate itſelf. While the citizens are orderly and reſpectful under a plain ſtile of government, why need we try the alternative of creating more luſtre and expence in our inſtitutions? But ſhould the people ſhew a refractory, ſeditious temper, and make efforts to break over the barriers of law and juſtice, regardleſs of the intrinſic excellence of our conſtitution, the government will be compelled to have recourſe to thoſe artificial methods of gaining reſpect and obedience, which other nations find indiſpenſible. Should this happen it will be conſonant to the ſpirit, if not ſtrictly to the letter of my motto—*take away thrones and crowns from among men and there will ſoon be an end of all dominion and juſtice.*

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, FEB. 26, 1790.

IN Committee of the whole houſe. The propoſition for aſſuming the State debts, and the amendments propoſed thereto by Mr. White, being under conſideration.

(CONTINUED.)

MR. STONE. It is ſaid that immediate relief is to be afforded the State creditors; but upon the Secretary's idea, not one farthing is to be paid under two years: In the mean time there will be a total ſuſpenſion of all payments to the State creditors, this will operate very unjuſtly and oppreſſively: He inſtanced particularly in the State of Maryland. In that State there is upwards of 200000l. ſolid ſubſtantial property in State paper belonging to the citizens. This property by virtue of the judicious arrangements of that State, is placed in a very eligible ſituation. Now what have the proprietors done that they ſhould be in a manner ſtripped of it.

He reprobated the injuſtice of taxing thoſe States who are out of debt, to pay debts contracted for purpoſes in which perhaps they are not at all intereſted. He adverted to the conduct of S. Carolina, in not making proviſion for their State debt, on the preſumption that Congreſs would aſſume and fund it, without any previous intimation of any deſign of this nature on the part of Congreſs. He was ſorry, he ſaid, to mention this circumſtance, but much more ſorry that it ſhould ever have taken place.

He concluded by ſaying that in all events he ſhould adviſe his conſtituents to proceed in paying exciſe and impoſt, and making proviſion for their debts, and if Congreſs pleaſed they might give them credit, if not, he hoped they would obtain credit in Heaven.

Mr. Ames ſaid that a jealouſy was entertained of undue advantage being procured to particular States. In order to remove the impediments which the ſuppoſed unworthy influence of ſtate intereſts on his mind might place in his way, he was obliged as well as diſpoſed to reſt his argument upon general principles. For theſe, like truth, upon which they are founded, have an unchangeable and uncontroulable authority.

Let the firſt enquiry be as to the juſtice of the meaſure. In 1775 the citizens of America, with a ſolemn appeal to Heaven, made a common cauſe of their violated liberty. They agreed as brethren to expoſe property and life in its defence. If partial dangers and loſſes were to have fallen upon the ſufferers, probably it would have diſcouraged many who were moſt immediately expoſed and yet diſplayed the moſt heroic fortitude.

Nor would thoſe who were remote from the danger, and indeed from the quarrel, have become parties on any other principle than that it was the cauſe of all America. For inſtance, South-Carolina, as happy as peace and wealth could make her, had little cauſe of complaint againſt Britain. He did not eſpouſe the cauſe of South-Carolina merely, but of America. That State gave an illuſtrious example of patriotiſm. But if her citizens when they foreſaw the evils of war, had foreſeen that more than five millions of debt would be created againſt her, that the armies would live as it were, on free quarters in her territory, and that a great part of the perſonal property would be deſtroyed or carried away, would they have drawn the ſword if they had believed that the benefit would be common, but the burden partial? No, Sir, the ſpirit of the people and the reſolves of Congreſs ſpoke a different language. Let him who has not forgotten the ſpirit of 1775 deny that this is in conformity to its dictates.

But were the ſtate debts contracted for the war? It appears by the books in the public offices that they were. Will any one ſay that the whole expence of defending our common liberty ought not to be a common charge? Part of this charge was contracted by Maſſachuſetts, before Congreſs aſſumed the exerciſe of its powers. The firſt ammunition that repulſed the enemy at Lexington, and made ſuch havoc at Bunkers-Hill, was purchaſed by that ſtate and appears in the form of their ſtate debt. The war was chiefly a common charge while paper money would defray it. But in 1780, when it became of little value, Congreſs called upon the ſtates. The ſtates which complied with the demand contracted debts, and that in proportion to their zeal. A ſtate which totally neglected a requiſition, or complied partially, would of courſe proportionally eſcape a debt: Is this juſtice? But the ſtates were alſo exhauſted, and to aid their feeble authority and ſlender reſources, they called upon the towns, and theſe called upon claſſes, and theſe upon individuals. Why not as properly ſay that this debt is due from towns, claſſes or even individuals, as from ſtates?

Nothing can more clearly evince the injuſtice of calling theſe ſtate debts than this circumſtance. Congreſs appointed perſons to liquidate and ſettle public accounts, and ſome of the ſtates did the like. If a ſtate took early meaſures to receive and allow claims of courſe many were exhibited and allowed. But where it was convenient to apply to the offices of the United States, and eſpecially in caſe the ſtate had not opened like offices, the claims chiefly appeared againſt the United States. Accordingly, the commiſſioner from Congreſs allowed about 280,000 dollars in Maſſachuſetts, and near 130,000 in New-York, merely becauſe the former ſtate had incorporated them with her debt, and in the latter they were received by the officers of the United States. Congreſs delayed ſending a commiſſioner to South-Carolina till 1784. Had he been ſent in 1782 it is probable, the debt of that ſtate would have been of leſs magnitude. Are circumſtances ſo merely adventitious and caſual to conſtitute a plea for the union to diſown the debts? Formerly the ſtates had the funds, and the creditors preferred their notes; they agreed to this conſtitution which has given the funds to the United States, ſhall not the debts follow the funds? Shall we firſt diſable the ſtates from paying and then refuſe payment ourſelves? Is it juſt that officers who fought ſide by ſide ſhould have a different recompence?

Let us examine this meaſure on the ground of policy. How would it ſtrike the people of England to divide their debt upon ſeveral counties, and to eſtabliſh independent revenue ſyſtems for its ſecurity! Habit has made an idea equally dangerous and ſtrangely familiar in our own country. It is unfriendly to the national and State governments, to make it abſolutely inevitable for them to claſh and interfere.—Let us preſerve the powers of both unimpaired: to combine our citizens in common views, to make the revenue laws uniform, to extend permanent protection to trade and manufactures, to relieve our huſbandry from dry taxes, are objects worthy of the government. It is natural too to ſuppoſe that the collection may be made leſs expenſive, as it would make a double ſet of revenue officers unneceſſary; it will relieve us from the confuſion of ſo many ſorts of paper, and by extending the market, and making the funds more certain, will encreaſe the uſe of the State paper as money.

The ſouthern States are ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a ſmall ſhare only of the preſent debt—But as Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, own near 13 millions of the State debts (more than half their amount) the aſſumption will produce a more equal diſtribution of benefits and burdens. Beſides, the State duties operate to the injury of the revenue—an article that bears a low duty of import, is duties high by the State, and there is danger that the temptation to fraud will impair both revenues—for tho the impoſt alone would not furniſh ſuch temptation, yet the State duty being ſuper-added, the collection becomes inſecure.

But State duties are not confined merely to their own citizens. The trade from State to State has been grievouſly burdened by their operation—the conſtitution was intended to free our domeſtic intercourſe from all reſtraint. Further, exciſe duties fall upon the conſumer---one State will be made tributary to another.---Maſſachuſetts has collected part of the duties from the citizens of New-Hampſhire---the operation of the New-York impoſt is well known---when it is ſaid, therefore, *let each State pay its own debt*, we ought to expect that this will not take place, if the debts ſhould not be aſſumed---and it may well be doubted whether in that caſe State duties would not prove a more grievous burden upon trade, and produce greater inequality and injuſtice than has ever been urged againſt the aſſumption.

Theſe arguments independently conſidered will probably be allowed to prove the juſtice and ſound policy of the aſſumption. But in order to preſerve their full force it is neceſſary to obviate ſome objections.

The aſſumption it is affirmed, tends to the conſolidation of the States, and to the deſtruction of the State governments. The entire powers of peace, war and treaty, are given to Congreſs---of conſequence the power of raiſing ſupplies, and when they may fail of contracting debts to carry on war, belong to Congreſs. The entire debt was created by the war---it ſeems to be in ſtrict conformity to the ſpirit as well as letter of the conſtitution to aſſume it; for it cannot be improper to exerciſe that power in this inſtance, which in all like caſes is excluſively veſted in Congreſs.---The ſtates are reſtricted from raiſing troops and carrying on war;

The power of contracting and providing for debts incurred by war ſeems to be an incident to it---it would not be ſafe to concede that the power of levying war belongs to Congreſs, and yet to aſſert that the power of providing for it is neceſſary for their ſecurity to be veſted in the States. If this, however is not aſſerted, the objection will be untenable—For if it is now neceſſary to the States, it will always be neceſſary. All future war debts will be contracted by Congreſs---the objection therefore ſuppoſes, either that the State debts will be extinguiſhed, in which caſe there is only a temporary ſecurity againſt a perpetual danger, or that they will be kept perpetually in being to ſecure the States againſt it.

The objection plainly leads to this concluſion---If it is improper and unſafe for Congreſs to exerciſe this power, then the conſtitution is wrong, and it ought to have been veſted in the States. The power of providing for war neceſſarily draws after it the right of declaring it, and the whole power of the ſword. The people of this country will know that this power veſted in more than one body might ſoon be turned againſt themſelves. There would be neither conſtitution nor union in that caſe. But we are to adminiſter the government according to the frame of it. The real check againſt the abuſe and the ſecurity for the being of both national and State governments is the knowledge of the people. The aſſumption will not render the conſtitution obſcure, nor ſtrengthen the right of this government to raiſe armies which is already given, nor will it make the State governments obnoxious, but rather the reverſe, as it will throw upon the United States the odium of levying taxes. Beſides, as ſoon as the accounts ſhall be ſettled, this danger will occur. The objection applies equally againſt the liquidation of the accounts.

Let us however take the argument ſimply as it is ſtated, it proves too much. For if ſo much power follows the aſſumption as the objection implies, it is time to aſk is it ſafe to forbear aſſuming? If the power is ſo dangerous, it will be ſo when exerciſed by the States. If the aſſuming tends to conſolidation, is the reverſe, tending to diſunion, a leſs weighty objection? If I am anſwered that the non-aſſumption will not neceſſarily tend to diſ-union, I reply, neither does the aſſumption neceſſarily tend to conſolidation. An unreaſonable claſhing of juriſdictions cannot be friendly to the preſent frame of our republics.

We are told that the accounts are in a train of being ſettled. We are adviſed to wait that event. But in the mean time what is to become of the ſtate creditors; moſt of the ſtates claim balances, will they provide for their creditors, while they expect to receive thoſe balances? Will their citizens ſubmit to taxes cheerfully, while this expectation laſts? The value of the debts would be fluctuating. If this ſettlement ſhould be long delayed, their value would ſink to a mere triſle, ſuppoſe that by aſſuming we bring the ſtates, or ſome of them, into debt to the union, by not aſſuming the union is certainly in debt to the ſtates. Is it more wiſe or juſt to be debtors than creditors? But if the ſtates are to have credit for what they have done and paid, and to be charged with what they have received from the United States, moſt of the ſtates will be creditors, and as the war was a common charge, and ought to have been entirely ſupported by the union, the debts of the ſtates are debts which they ought never to have incurred, and therefore, the aſſumption reſtores things to their juſt foundation.

It is ſaid leave the ſtates to pay their own debts; are they to do it by direct taxes? It is well known that in eſtimating the product of taxation, as much depends on the mode of impoſing and collecting as on the wealth of the perſons taxed. Perhaps direct aſſeſſments are, of all taxes the moſt unproductive and uncertain. They are beſides arbitrary and burdenſome: Will any ſingle fund eſpecially ſuch as I have juſt mentioned be ſufficient? Or if it ſhould, would it not baniſh the huſbandmen from ſome of the ſtates? Independence is a common acquiſition, and ought to be enjoyed upon equal terms. But to ſome it will prove ruinous, while others living in another ſtate, and divided by an imaginary line will enjoy their lands almoſt tax free.

Or ſhall the ſtates fund the debt on exciſes? Have the ſtates a right to exciſe imported articles? Without deciding that queſtion, it is not ſuppoſed that they have the power of regulating the importation of goods. The checks upon the dealers in dutied goods of conſequence will be imperfect. Neither have they a right to prevent the tranſit of goods through a ſtate. The extent of frontier is another impediment to ſtate exciſes. Maſſachuſetts has a frontier line to watch of many hundred miles, and it will not be poſſible to prevent the introduction of goods charged with leſs duties, or not dutied at all, from the neighboring States.---If a State exciſe law ſhould militate againſt the law of the union, both cannot operate---perhaps neither. The right of the States to collect exciſes, if ſuch right exiſts, is deduced from the ſilence of the conſtitution---The right of Congreſs is expreſſed in poſitive terms.---if then the right of laying exciſes by the States either does not exiſt, or exiſts under ſeveral limitations and diſadvantages then the proviſion which they can make for their debt becomes proportionally inadequate and precarious. The burden if equally borne, and under the wiſeſt and moſt efficacious ſyſtem of revenue, is ſuppoſed to be heavy enough. How then ſhall it be endured, if borne unequally and under ſuch inconveniences?

If it is urged that the United States cannot provide for the State debts, I anſwer the States are ſtill leſs able.

But with debts you take funds---and even on pecuniary calculation the public will gain.—Not aſſuming is paying twice over. For the people of a State will be unequally burdened to pay their debt, and then as citizens of the United States will be liable to be taxed to make retribution.

But how is this retribution to be made? Taxes muſt be uniform---you cannot therefore make a requiſition upon the debtor States---you cannot ſue for the debt in the federal court---for the money is due to the creditor States, and not to the United States; will you wage war to enforce payment? The balances muſt be paid by the United States---if Virginia is found to be a creditor, the union muſt pay it by taxing the citizens of all the States.---The arguments urged againſt the aſſumption apply with equal force to the non-aſſumption.

The ſame anſwer will be equally proper to be given to thoſe who object---that it will operate unjuſtly againſt the States which have advanced beyond their proportion, and now will have to bear a part of the debt of the other States, ſome of whom are debtors.

The States are either creditors or debtors.---If creditors, the aſſumption is a prompt payment of that amount of their claims---if debtors, the charge of inequality is abſurd even in terms.---The debt is to be paid or it is not---if not, the debate is improper; if it is to be paid, then equally or unequally. If the latter, abandon the plea of juſtice—if the former, then apportion it; if the debt was actually divided among the States according to their quotas, the aſſumption would be unexceptionable—becauſe it is manifeſt that the burden could be more conveniently borne by the people under one ſyſtem—If it is unequally divided, why ſhould the people be cruſhed by the inequality of the burden?

Congreſs have already agreed to pay the balances which may be found due to the States. This is virtually an aſſumption—why ſhould we forbear to do that in the firſt inſtance which we are ultimately bound to do?

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17.

Reports from the Secretary at War, and the Secretary of the Treaſury were read, on ſundry petitions.

The ratification of the State of Pennſylvania of the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 articles of amendments propoſed by Congreſs to the Conſtitution was read.

In Committee of the whole on the report of the ſelect committee, to whom was referred the memorials of the people called Quakers, on the ſubject of the Slave Trade.

The queſtion of order was put, when it was determined that Mr. Tucker's laſt amendment was not in order.

The report was then taken up by paragraphs. The firſt propoſition being read Mr. White moved that it be ſtruck out. He did this he ſaid, becauſe he was againſt entering into a conſideration at this time of the powers of Congreſs, he thought it would be time enough for this when the powers are called in queſtion. He then read the next, which he ſaid was entirely unneceſſary as it contains nothing more than what is contained in expreſs terms in the conſtitution.

He paſſed on to the 3d, which he ſaid was equally unneceſſary; and ſo the 4th, which was provided for by the conſtitution. He ſaid that he ſhould agree to the 5th, and 6th, with certain modifications. Agreeable to this idea he offered thoſe two in a different form. He diſagreed to the 7th propoſition, as unneceſſary and improper. He concluded by obſerving, that his wiſh was to promote the happineſs of all mankind—and among the reſt thoſe who are the objects of preſent conſideration—but this he wiſhed to do in conformity to the principles of juſtice and with a due regard to the peace and happineſs of others; he would contribute all in his power to their comfort and well being while in a ſtate of ſlavery; but he was fully of opinion that Congreſs has no right to interfere in the buſineſs, any further than he propoſed by the two propoſitions as modified. He did not however anticipate the difficulties from a total prohibition which ſome gentlemen ſeem to apprehend—and if Congreſs had it in their power to interdict this buſineſs at the preſent moment, he did not think the eſſential intereſts of the Southern States would ſuffer. Twenty years ago, he ſuppoſed the idea he now ſuggeſted, would have cauſed univerſal alarm. Virginia however about twelve years ſince, prohibited the importation of negroes from Africa, and the conſequences apprehended never were realized; on the contrary the agriculture of that State was never in a more flouriſhing ſituation.

Mr. Hartley.---I have the honor to be one of the committee on the memorials, and will with the leave of this committee mention ſome particulars which took place in the courſe of the inveſtigation of the buſineſs; he premiſed that he was ſorry that the queſtion of right had been brought forward yeſterday---and was not a little ſurpriſed to hear the cauſe of ſlavery advocated in that Houſe, and language held towards the petitioners, which his experience he ſaid, had never ſhown to be parliamentary---he read ſome memorandums taken in committee, and had particular reference to a law paſſed in Grenada which he applauded for its humanity, and truly benevolent ſpirit.

He reprobated the illiberal treatment which the memorialiſts had received, and aſſerted that they were friends to the conſtitution, and that on the preſent occaſion they came forward from the moſt laudable motives, from a wiſh to promote the happineſs of mankind, that their conduct ſo far from meriting cenſure, deſerved, and would receive the applauſe of the civilized world.

Mr. Brown in a conſiderable ſpeech advocated the motion of Mr. White, he enlarged on the pernicious conſequences that may be expected to flow from the interference of Congreſs; he pointed out the effects which had reſulted from the interpoſition of the Quakers, by which the proſpects of the Southern States in ſlaves had been rendered very precarious---and if Congreſs ſhould adopt the report as it is, the conſequences will be pernicious in the higheſt degree. The negro property will be annihilated. The emancipation of ſlaves will be effected in time, it ought to be a gradual buſineſs---but he hoped that Congreſs would not, to gratify people who never had been friendly to the independence of America, precipitate the buſineſs to the great injury of the Southern States.

Mr. Burke entered into a very extenſive conſideration of the ſubject; he gave an account of the humane treatment which the ſlaves of the Southern States received, their habitations, families, children, privileges, &c. He then ſhewed that their emancipation would tend to make them wretched in the higheſt degree---he animadverted with great freedom on the paſt and preſent conduct of the Quakers---he denied that they were the friends of freedom---he ſaid that during the late war, they were for bringing this country under a foreign yoke, they deſcended to the characters of ſpies ---they ſupplied the enemy with proviſions, they were guides and conductors to their armies---and whenever the American army came into their neighborhood they formed themſelves in an enemy's country. Mr. Burke was proceeding in this ſtrain when he was interrupted by its being ſaid he was not in order; a warm altercation enſued, and in the midſt of it, a motion was made that the committee ſhould riſe: this motion was negatived, and Mr. Burke added a few more obſervations on the injuſtice of the meaſure of interference, as it reſpected the property of the Southern States.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) followed Mr. Burke in a ſpeech or eſſay, in defence of the ſlave trade of nearly two hours length--the committee roſe without a deciſion.

THURSDAY, MARCH 18.

Sundry memorials and petitions were read and referred---The report of the committee on the memorials reſpecting the ſlave trade being the order of the day,

Mr. Benſon after premiſing that any further diſcuſſion of the ſubject in the line it was now in, would be a uſeleſs expence of time---moved that the committee of the whole ſhould be diſcharged from any further attention to the report---and that the memorials be again referred to a ſelect committee---he offered a variety of reaſons on which he founded this motion. This was ſeconded by Mr. Baldwin who at the ſame time entered into a lengthy diſcuſſion of the ſubject---Mr. Baldwin was followed by many other gentlemen which gave the buſineſs a totally different direction from what appeared to be the object of the motion.

The queſtion being taken, Mr. Benſon's motion was loſt---the Houſe then went into a committee of the whole, on the report—the debate was continued with ardor—and the ſpeakers on both ſides were numerous; ſeveral alterations in the report were agreed to—but the committee roſe without finiſhing the buſineſs, and the Houſe adjourned.

FRIDAY, MARCH 19.

Hon. Hugh Williamſon, member from the State of North-Carolina, appeared, was qualified, and took his ſeat this day.

A meſſage was received from the Senate. with two bills which they have paſſed with amendments, viz. An act to provide for the remiſſion or mitigation of fines, forfeitures and penalties in certain caſes---and an act to eſtabliſh a uniform rule of naturalization.

Sundry reports from the heads of departments, on memorials and petitions were read.

On motion of Mr. Sherman, the report of the committee on the memorial of Robert Morris, Eſq. was read the ſecond time—the report reſpecting the ſettlement of his accounts, only.

Mr. Sherman moved that a committee of five members be appointed, to enquire into the receipts and expenditures of public monies during the adminiſtration of Robert Morris, Eſq. late ſuperintendant of finance—and to report to the Houſe a ſtate of the accounts reſpecting the ſame.—This motion after ſome debate was agreed to---and Mr. Sherman, Mr. Madiſon, Mr. Lawranse, Mr. Sedgwick, and Mr. Smith (S. C.) appointed.

In committee of the whole, the report of the committee on the ſlave trade under conſideration. The fourth propoſition reſpecting a duty of ten dollars on ſlaves imported, being read, it was moved that it be ſtruck out, which motion after much debate was adopted. Several modifications of the fifth propoſition were offered, but the following in ſubſtance offered by Mr. Madiſon was agreed to, viz. Congreſs have authority to reſtrain the citizens of the United States who are concerned in the African trade, from ſupplying Foreigners with ſlaves; and to provide for their humane treatment, while on their paſſages to the United States.

The committee then roſe, and the Houſe adjourned till Monday next.

The ADDRESS of the INTENDANT and WARDENS of the City of CHARLESTON, South-Carolina.

To GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident of the United States.

THOUGH among the lateſt, yet not among the leaſt zealous of the citizens of America, we take the liberty to intrude for a moment on your time, which is ſo precious to the people over whom you preſide, to offer our congratulations on your unanimous appointment to the moſt honorable ſtation amongſt men, the firſt magiſtracy of the freeſt people on the earth.

United with our Eaſtern and Northern brethern in our ardent attachment to the principles of a free government, equally remote from tyranny and anarchy, we rejoice with them, that you have been prevailed upon by the voice of your country to relinquiſh your private walks of domeſtic life, for the toils of an untried government, where your wiſdom, moderation, and firmneſs would be requiſite to the diſcharge of its various and intricate duties. With grateful hearts, we add this to the catalogue of eminent ſacrifices and ſervices, by which you have ſo compleatly endeared yourſelf to the people of America.

As magiſtrates of a commercial city deeply intereſted in the meaſures of the fœderal government, we feel peculiar pleaſure in finding it introduced into action under the auſpices of an adminiſtration every way qualified to correct thoſe errors, or ſupply thoſe defects, which are alledged by its enemies, or apprehended by its friends: And as in its firſt operations, it will receive from you a tone correſpondent to the ſpirit in which it was framed, we felicitate ourſelves in the happy omens of a firm government acting by wholſome laws through the medium of a mild and equal adminiſtration.

Poſſeſſing the fulleſt confidence that our diſtance from the ſeat of government will not deprive us of any of its eſſential benefits, we beg leave to tender you our aſſurances of a chearful ſubmiſſion to, and active ſupport of the conſtitution, and the laws which may be framed in conformity thereto by the wiſdom of Congreſs.

We cheriſh the confidence from whence ſpring theſe aſſurances, becauſe we remember that we were not neglected or deſerted during the late glorious ſtruggle for independency, but were ſubſtantially aided by the policy of your counſels, the wiſdom of your appointments, and the vigor of the exertions of our northern friends who ſhared and leſſened our ſevereſt toils.

It is our earneſt prayer to the Almighty ruler of the univerſe, that he will take you into his holy keeping, and ſuffer no incident to ariſe which may diſturb the felicity of your private life; and that he will make your public adminiſtration honorable to yourſelf, and happy to the people who have ſo unanimouſly confided themſelves to your care.

THOMAS JONES,
Intendant of the city of Charleſton, by deſire of, and for the whole.

City-Council, Charleſton, (S. C.) 18th Feb. 1790.

To the Intendant and Wardens of the City of Charleſton, South-Carolina.

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE your congratulations, on my unanimous appointment to the firſt magiſtracy of a free people, with that grateful ſenſibility which is due to the occaſion, and which your flattering expreſſions of regard could not fail to awaken. Perſuaded that the candor of my countrymen will do juſtice to the rectitude of my intentions, I am happy under the aſſurance, that their active ſupport of the conſtitution, and diſpoſition to maintain the dignity of our free and equal government, will enſure facility and ſucceſs to the adminiſtration of its laws, and, if the reſult of my anxious endeavors, in ſome meaſure, to juſtify the two partial ſentiments of my fellow-citizens, ſhould, in any degree, approach to the wiſh which I entertain for their happineſs, I ſhall not regret the domeſtic enjoyment and perſonal repoſe, which may have been yielded to this ſuperior conſideration.

As magiſtrates of a commercial city, deeply intereſted in the meaſures of the federal government, you muſt have beheld, with ſatisfaction, the equal and ſalutary influence of its regulations on the trade of America. As citizens of a State, whoſe ſufferings and ſervices poſſeſs a diſtinguiſhed rank in the hiſtory of our revolution, you muſt rejoice in the completion of our toils, and the reward which awaits them—and as members of the great family of the union, connected by the cloſeſt ties of intereſt and endearment, the confidence which you juſtly cheriſh of ſharing in all the benefits of the national compact, muſt be ſtrengthened by the experience already received of the juſtice, wiſdom, and prudence of its meaſures, a candid review of which will eſtabliſh a conviction of liberal policy, and juſtify the moſt favorable anticipation of future advantage. I deſire to aſſure you, gentlemen, of my gratitude for the tender intereſt you are pleaſed to take in my perſonal felicity, and I intreat the Almighty ruler of the univerſe, to crown your wiſhes with deſerved proſperity.

G. WASHINGTON.

☞ *The Addreſs of the State of Georgia in our next.*

From BELL's ORACLE.

LONDON.

VANDERMERSCH—*The Brabantine General.*

THIS illuſtrious veteran was born about the year 1737—of a family reſpectable, tho not opulent, at *Menin*, a ſmall city in Flanders.

He early embraced the profeſſion of arms—and ſerved, with diſtinguiſhed reputation, under DAUN and LAUDOHN, in the *guerre de ſept ans*—PRINCE CHARLES of LORRAIN, noticed in him abilities, and predicted future eminence.

Like WASHINGTON, the rank to which he attained in the army of that Sovereign, over which he triumphed, was not high.

Like WASHINGTON, he retired to the enjoyment of domeſtic happineſs, and the practice of private virtue.

Like the AMERICAN CINCINNATUS, he aimed not in retirement at the reputation of talents that were not commenſurate with the ſphere in which he moved.

Like HIM his ability was only known to ſelect friends.

Like HIM he contemned the vauntings of hectoring diſciplinarians.

And like HIM *in a moment* climbed the arduous ſummit of military glory.

New-York, March 20, 1790.

Extract of a letter from London, 1ſt Jan. 1790.

"Lord HAWKESBURY and Mr. GRENVILLE, "are now actually employed in preparing the "plan of a commercial treaty with your States, "which I doubt not will *ſhortly* be fully matured "and put into a train of negociation."

Extract of a letter from Providence, (Rhode-Iſland,) dated March 7, 1790.

"Alas for poor Rhode-Iſland! doomed ſtill to experience the evils attendant on anarchy and miſrule.

The delegates of this place are juſt returned from South-Kingſtown, the convention having riſen laſt evening at ten o'clock, without accompliſhing the important buſineſs of their appointment. The convention ſtands adjourned to the 24th of May, then to meet at Newport—which favourite meaſure was carried by a majority of 1.—Every objection raiſed againſt the general government was clearly obviated; but antifederaliſm, obſtinacy and ignorance, were triumphant. A committee was early appointed to draft and report a bill of rights, and amendments to the conſtitution: The former, I am told, is nearly a copy of the Virginia bill—the latter are ſaid to have been collected chiefly from amendments propoſed by other ſtates. Where any thing *new* has been introduced, ſtupidity is the characteriſtic feature. The old game of handing theſe to *the people*, is once more to be played; and yet no mode is pointed out whereby their ſentiments are to be collected. An adjournment till after our election, is intended to ſerve the purpoſes of party, and obtain a re election of the powers that be, or others of ſimilar character.

"It is much to be lamented, that an exemption from foreign impoſt and tonnage was ever aſked for or granted. The firſt indulgence afforded our antifeds an opportunity to diſpoſe of their fall produce, and they muſt be made to *feel*, before they can be brought to a ſenſe of duty.

The great ſhipments of grain from America immediately to France, and the high prices which the Americans have got and will for a long time to come continue to get for that article, from that kingdom and other countries on the continent of Europe, has made our *old friend* Britain a little ſharper ſighted than uſual. She has looked into the caſe of the *Heſſian Fly* rather more narrowly than ſhe did before her proclamation came out forbidding the importation of American grain into that iſland for fear of that little *inſect*, and finds that it is a mere *bug-bear*: the truth of the caſe is—that ſhe did not like to ſee ſo much American commerce going to her neighbors, for ſhe well knew that large exportations of American produce to France would produce a ſtronger connection with that country and large importations from thence—and leave a ſurplus in their correſpondents hands in France, to pay off the American balances to their Britiſh creditors. How would this ſuit with Britiſh navigation—Britiſh manufactures and the whole ſyſtem of Britiſh policy—not to have American produce loaded with two freights, two commiſſions, and all the other incidental charges on ſhipping grain, &c. through England to France, and having returns through the ſame channel?

A Correſpondent obſerves it has been ſaid that if Congreſs ſhould interfere in the regulation of the ſlave trade in one inſtance they may in another, and under the pretence of introducing humane regulations they may interdict the buſineſs altogether. This is undoubtedly a fact, for it is impoſſible to interpoſe the offices of humanity to any effect, in reſpect to this buſineſs, without encreaſing the expenſe of importation in ſuch manner as to amount to a prohibition. The truth is, if you were obliged to build barns on board of ſhips for the tranſportation of horſes, they could not be ſent out of the country; if you ſay that negroes ſhall be brought into the country in any other way than as *brutes*, you muſt interdict the trade, to import them as *human beings*, is entirely out of the queſtion.

Extracts from the NEWPORT HERALD.

The members of the Convention in oppoſition to the Conſtitution, met in North-Kingſton on Sunday evening, and afterwards at South-Kingſton, on Monday and Tueſday evening. At theſe nocturnal meetings, the adjournment was agreed upon, and the time fixed as was voted by the Convention. One powerful reaſon which operated at thoſe meetings, to induce an adjournment of the Convention to ſo diſtant a period, was an expectation that the Report of the Secretary of the Treaſury, would create great uneaſineſs in the States in the Union, which would terminate in inſurrections, and thereby would eſtabliſh the anti-federal power in this State, and make it the centre of oppoſition.

From the conduct and converſation of many of the members of the majority in the Convention, in and out of the Houſe, we have reaſon to believe that it is their determination again to adjourn, and never to agree to an adoption, but upon the moſt urgent neceſſity.

In juſtice to the numerous ſpectators who attended the Convention we cannot but obſerve, that altho many of them were known to entertain an unfavorable opinion of the New Government, yet they conducted themſelves with great decency, and from the attention which they gave to the debates, and what has ſince fallen from them, we are led to believe, that many of them are perſuaded that they have been deceived, and were before unacquainted with the merits of the Conſtitution.

ARRIVALS SINCE OUR LAST.——NEW YORK.

Packet Antelope, Curtis, Falmouth, 62 days.
Brig Nancy, Barnard, Cape-Francois.
Brig Amelia, Lewis, St. Croix, 17 days.
Sloop Chance, Friſby, St. Martins.
—— Catherine, Vilarenga, Eaſt-Florida.
—— Three Friends, Davis, Boſton, 16 days.
—— Sally, Cary, Norfolk, 4 days.
—— Hancock, Brown, Rhode-Iſland, 4 days.
—— Aurora, Cahoone, do. 4 days.

Ship America, Capt. Sarly, arrived at Bombay, June 19, 1789, all well. Ship Jay, was at Bombay at the ſame time.

By the Britiſh Packet Antelope, *in 62 days from Falmouth, we have received Engliſh newſpapers down to the* NINTH *of* January, *from which we have ſelected the following*

European Intelligence.

LONDON, Jan. 9.

OUR letters from Paris on Thurſday bring us curious intelligence. The Marquis de la Fayette received information of a new conſpiracy being formed againſt the liberties of the people.

He made known to the King what he had diſcovered, but at the ſame time ſaid, that he had not heard enough to juſtify him in any proceedings. He made further enquiries however, and learned that a Monſieur de Favras, a gentleman in the ſuite of Monſieur the King's brother, had been endeavoring to corrupt the National militia—that a number of high perſons were concerned, and that the plan was to corrupt 30,000 of the Paris guard, with which they were to ſeize on the Government of Paris—to kill the Mayor, the Marquis de la Fayette, and other diſtinguiſhed patriots. Two officers engaged in the plot made this confeſſion, and on Thurſday laſt the Sieur de Favras, his wife, and two more perſons were taken up—and the guards were in purſuit of ſeveral others.

Whatever truth there may be in this new plot, it had a moſt extraordinary effect in inflaming the public mind—and in a paper publiſhed on Friday, it was aſſerted, that Monſieur the King's brother was concerned—and that, in particular, a loan had been negociated in his name, and money raiſed for the purpoſe of carrying into execution this new contrivance. This accuſation induced Monſieur to go to the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Commons, at the Hotel-de-Ville, (which anſwers to our Court of Common-Council at Guildhall) on Saturday afternoon—He was received with ceremony by twelve members, and placed next to the Mayor. A reſpectful ſilence ſucceeded to univerſal plaudits, and Monſieur addreſſed them in a ſpeech to the following effect:

"The Sieur de Favras having been, on the evening of the preceeding Thurſday, arreſted under ſuſpicon of a conſpiracy againſt the Chiefs of the Municipality, and againſt the peace and liberty of the public—there had appeared a paper, as audacious as calumniating, in which he had been implicated, as having had particular connections with the Sieur de Favras. Monſieur declared, that in quality of a citizen of Paris, he had thought it his duty to come into the midſt of his fellow citizens, to explain the relation in which he ſtood with this ſuſpected individual, who had been for ſome time in his ſuite. He ſaid, that having occaſion for a ſum of money, for the expences of his houſhold, the Sieur de Favras had offered to procure a loan for him, of two millions, from the Dutch Bankers—he had accepted the offer, and had ſigned obligations to this amount. This was the whole of the negociation he had with the Sieur de Favras."

Monſieur added, "that he was ſure they did not expect to hear him attempt to juſtify himſelf from any participation in an enterpriſe ſo infamous as the conſpiracy in queſtion—that his public conduct, and his well-known ſentiments would put him above all ſuch ſuſpicions—that after the ſecond meeting of the Notables he had foreſeen the revolution, and that, on every occaſion, he had demonſtrated himſelf to be a friend to the liberty of the people, and the public good. I have always thought (ſaid Monſieur) that the authority of the King ought to be the baſis of national liberty, as national liberty is the firmeſt ſupport of the authority of the King."

This ſpeech was delivered with elegance and ſimplicity—and, both in the ſtile and manner, was correct and poliſhed. It was received with the moſt lively acclamations.

The Mayor anſwered his Highneſs with that propriety and elevation of ſentiment which has characterized his eloquence through the whole of his memorable progreſs.—As *Mayor* of Paris, he did not riſe, but *ſpoke ſitting, as Monſieur had done ſo.*

The flame of liberty has at length reached even Rome, where the populace, headed by many of the moſt ancient families, have already demanded a municipal and free government—His Holineſs the Pope was at Freſcati, when our advices left Italy; but his return was fixed for Chriſtmas eve, when a categorical anſwer to the popular requiſitions was looked for.

FRANCE.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

December 30.

THE articles propoſed on Monday, to oblige all perſons concerned in the management of public money, to give in their accounts, with a retroſpect of ten years, to the New Aſſemblies of Adminiſtration, were decreed.

The following letter from Monſieur was read:

"Mr. PRESIDENT,

"The detention of M. Favras having been the occaſion of calumnies, in which an inclination was ſhewn to involve me; and the Committee of Police for the city having the affair at this moment before them, I thought it became me to make a declaration to the Community of Paris, that ſhould leave in the minds of worthy citizens none of thoſe doubts with which endeavors had been uſed to inſpire them. I alſo think it my duty to inform the National Aſſembly of this ſtep, becauſe the King's brother ought to preſerve himſelf even from ſuſpicion, and becauſe the affair of M. de Favras is of too ſerious a nature not to engage the attention of the Aſſembly ſooner or later. As I cannot in perſon declare to the Aſſembly my deſire that all the details reſpecting this buſineſs ſhould be publicly known, I ſhall be much obliged to you to read this letter in my name, and alſo the ſpeech which I delivered the day before yeſterday, as the faithful expreſſion of my trueſt and moſt profound ſentiments.

"I entreat you, Mr. Preſident, to be perſuaded of my affectionate regard.

(Signed) "LOUIS ZAVIER."

It may be proper to add here, that the Committee, at the Hotel de Ville, have ordered Thomas de Mahi, Marquis of Favras, and Victoria Edwidge Caroline, Princeſs of Anhalt Chamborg, his wife, to be preſented; and alſo offered a reward of 500 louis d'ors to any perſon who ſhall diſcover the author of a written hand-bill, ſigned Barauz, charging Monſieur with being an accomplice in the crime alledged againſt them.

LONDON.

The *Herald* informs us, that M. de Mirabeau comes into the National Aſſembly intoxicated. The *World* ſpeaks of his nineteenth duel. As both theſe prints are venal, and virulent traducers of French patriotiſm, there is reaſon to believe, that they have ſuppreſſed the addition of Vicompte, that the public might confound the perſon ſpoken of with the Count de Mirabeau, and thus load him with the oboloquy of revels and of broils. The perſon of whom the two paragraphs are true, is the Vicompte de Mirabeau, the brother and enemy of the Great Mirabeau.

It is reported that the Turks have at laſt releaſed M. de Bulgakow, the Ruſſian Miniſter, from the ſeven towers, and that he embarked on board la Badine French frigate, commanded by the Prince de Rohan, which arrived at Trieſte the 3d ultimo, after a paſſage of twenty-one days, from the Dardenelles.

Extract of a letter from Liſbon Dec. 20,

"The American veſſels have arrived in ſuch numbers lately, as to have wholly relieved us from the diſaſters that might have been otherwiſe expected. Moſt of the ſhips have returned home with wine and fruit—it being an eſtabliſhed article of commerce between Portugal and America, that the Americans, for any cargoes they ſhould bring over, ſhall receive one half in the produce of this country."

Extract of a letter from Bruſſels, Jan. 1.

"The diſputes I before informed you of ſtill continue. The Clergy and Nobles want to monopolize all authority, and the Tiers Etat will allow them none; the former begin to wiſh the Emperor had the country again, and indeed he cannot be ſaid to have loſt it, whilſt he maintains the garriſons of Luxembourg and Antwerp; the latter, however, is likely ſoon to be in the hands of the people, but there is ſcarce a poſſibility of their getting poſſeſſion of the former, although General Vander Merſch has marched a numerous army againſt it. Seven thouſand of the Electoral troops of Cologne were to have marched to reinforce General Dalton's army, but they were ſtopped by the Pruſſian army in the Liege country."

The King of the two Sicilies has publiſhed an Edict of reſtraint and diminiſhed privilege on Monaſtic life. Vows are prohibited before 25 years of age; and thoſe vows already taken, prior to that age, are abſolved.

Further accounts by the Packet ſtate: That there is a proſpect of peace between the Emperor and the Turks: That the Imperial Chamber has iſſued a ſevere decree againſt the people of Liege: That 4th Jan. was appointed as a day of public rejoicing in the Brabantine Territories on account of the ſucceſs of the patriots; a medal is to be ſtruck on the occaſion. The national Aſſembly is proceeding in the important buſineſs of compleating the organization of the New Government; and making ſuch arrangements as ſhall ſecure the freedom, peace, and proſperity of the kingdom: The King of the two Sicilies, is clipping the privileges of the clergy in his dominions: Luxemburgh and Antwerp are ſtill in the hands of the Emperors troops: the former is beſieged by the patriots: the emperor is again ſick: a treaty is concluded between Pruſſia and Poland, on new years day the national aſſembly preſented loyal addreſſes to the King and Queen which were very graciouſly received.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

FROM the general approbation of the new conſtitution, no doubt every poſſible aid neceſſary to give it force and energy ſufficient to anſwer all the wiſe and ſalutary purpoſes for which it was framed, will ſteadily and uniformly be given by every well-diſpoſed citizen of the United States of America—and it appears to me (tho I muſt confeſs myſelf no adept in politics) that the ſucceſs, force and energy, of the government will very much depend on the ſituation and place which Congreſs may fix on for the general ſeat of government.—Various places and ſituations have been contemplated, and by different writers warmly recommended, and this is not only perfectly conſonant with the unalienable rights of every citizen under the happy and benign influence of a free government; but has likewiſe a direct tendency to throw more light upon a ſubject, which from its magnitude and intereſting conſequences, cannot poſſibly be too clearly underſtood, when decided on.—Under the impreſſion of theſe conſiderations, I flatter myſelf juſtice and candor will allow me with modeſty to repreſent to the public, ſome few of the many, and great anvantages which in my view, ſo conſpicuouſly recommend the ſituation on the Eaſtern ſhore of the river Suſquehanna, and at the head of the navigation, or near it, of the large Bay of Cheaſepeak, for this purpoſe.

The great number of conveniences, and advantages which would inevitably attend fixing the capital of the United States, near the mouth of ſuch a large river, and on the head of ſo extenſive a Bay, on which ſo many States lie, or are contiguous, and the conveniences reſulting from this ſituation to the union in general, conſidered with its ſeveral mutual advantages—I humbly conceive will appear ſo obvious, upon ſerious and rational reflection, and accurate examination, as cannot fail of being eſteemed the moſt weighty and powerful arguments in favor of this ſituation, for the tranſaction of the important buſineſs of the union, and for the holding the great national ſupreme courts.

This premiſed, the public will indulge me in a brief repreſentation of the River Suſquehanna, its various ſources having lately been ſo diſcriminately explored by ſo many travellers of undoubted credibility, as ſufficiently evince, that it opens a communication into an immenſe extent of territory where the ſoil and vegetation is naturally ſuch as moſt indubitably prove ere long to be of ineſtimable value. It not only preſents a number of pleaſing and elegant proſpects, to induce adventurers to ſettle it, which, when occupied, and this river is made navigable (in my opinion, as well as many others a thing by no means impracticable) all the variety of valuable produce which it appears by nature intended to yield, for ſome hundred of miles Northeaſtward, may by its various branches iſſuing from different parts be conveyed into that large ſtream, and by that commercial channel to this ſo well adapted diſtrict, for the ſeat of the union.—But it will likewiſe prove an inexhauſtible ſupply of timber of the beſt quality of every kind, neceſſary for ſhip building and other work.

The great Bay of the Cheaſepeak is ſo well known, by moſt gentlemen who reſide in, as well as thoſe foreigners who have viſited the United States, as may well apologize for but a very conciſe deſcription of it here.—I will briefly obſerve, that this Bay is not only the largeſt, and the beſt and ſafeſt navigation in the United States, but the moſt central; that it is bordered by two very conſiderable States, and that its confines extend almoſt to the very verge of the Delaware State, and within a ſmall diſtance of North-Carolina, while its tide flows up the Suſquehanna, not far from the Pennſylvania line—That not only Suſquehanna, but the great and extenſive Potomack and James Rivers, which delineate ſuch channels of communication, and commercial intercourſe with a very conſiderable part of the back or weſtern country, diſembogue into it—and the meanders of thoſe large ſtreams paſs thro ſeveral parts of an amazing fertile country, and which afford a number of moſt valuable productions, peculiar to thoſe late explored regions, among which have been diſcovered, large bodies of excellent coal, an article, time alone will determine the real value of in the American world; all whereof claim our attention, as ſo many apparent proofs, that infinite wiſdom and goodneſs have been eminently diſplayed in placing ſo many bleſſings within the happy domain of theſe independent and United States.—Now from theſe obſervations, I truſt a moment's reflection will be ſufficient to evince how conveniently the valuable productions of thoſe remote parts might at a ſmall expence be conveyed down theſe rivers into the Bay, and by it to the propoſed ſituation for the federal ſeat.

If this ſituation ſhould meet the approbation of our great national council for their diſtrict of excluſive legiſlation, it appears highly probable, that the eaſt ſide of the mouth of Suſquehanna would be the place moſt approved of for its beginning; and to extend from thence ten miles up the River, which will be three or four miles above the flowing of the tide, and from the River, as they may in their wiſdom direct, until it comprehends a diſtrict of, or equal to ten miles ſquare, which if ſquare, or even nearly ſo, will be ſituated on a conflux of waters, that abound with fiſh of excellent quality and water fowl equal, if not ſuperior to any upon the continent—and although the continental poſt road, by paſſing through lands of the moſt unfertile ſoil, and leaſt cultivated of any on thoſe parts, may naturally induce the obſerving traveller to form an unfavorable opinion of this part of the country, yet in juſtice to it, and for the information of the public, I muſt obſerve, that not far from each ſide of this road, are very valuable farms, producing almoſt every uſeful vegetable of both the Northern and Southern States, and within a convenient diſtance, are unexhauſtible bodies of lime-ſtone of the beſt quality.

As many of the members of our national council have paſſed through this part of the country, which nature from a combination of circumſtances has rendered ſo very intereſting: in order to repreſent the internal conveniences and advantages of this diſtrict, it may ſuffice briefly to obſerve that, excluſive of a variety of fine mills and water works for different purpoſes; that there are a number of excellent farms and plantations, ſome occupied in agriculture, and others principally in grazing, &c. And as this diſtrict would not only be ſituated in a fertile part of the country, but nearly join the wealthy counties of Cheſter and Lancaſter, wherein are ſeveral rich German and Engliſh ſettlements, which although at a much greater diſtance do now, in a conſiderable degree ſupply the markets of both Philadelphia and Baltimore. I cannot conceive the leaſt reaſon to doubt, but that a Federal Town erected in this place, would be plentifully ſupplied with the beſt proviſions, at moderate rates: And whoever knows how much this extenſive and fertile part of the country ſuffers for want of a central Market-Town, upon a moment's reflection will candidly admit the propriety of this aſſertion.

The public will ſuffer me further to obſerve, that among many other internal advantages attending this diſtrict for the Federal Town, it will include Charleſtown, which has already from its ſituation attracted much public attention. It riſes from the ſhores of a pleaſant tide river, ſo agreeably as to engage numbers of Gentlemen, when paſſing through it (who have not only made the tour of America, but ſeveral parts of Europe) to halt on their way to gratify the eye with the delightfulneſs of the proſpect.—At a convenient diſtance from this town, Northward, and from the river Suſquehanna, Southward, there is a chain of Mountains ſo formed by nature, as to afford a clear proſpect over the town and adjacent waters as far as the eye can extend down the bay; theſe ſituations having fine ſprings iſſuing from them are well watered and adapted for elegant country ſeats; however if Congreſs ſhould prefer a ſituation ſome diſtance from tide water, there are ſeveral heights and beautiful elevated ſituations which would probably be near the centre of this diſtrict, and not far from the river Suſquehanna, ſome whereof may be very juſtly eſteemed for their pure water, ſalubrity of air, and delightfulneſs of proſpect, and not more than five miles Northward of Charleſtown, the centre whereof is nearly in the direction of the general inclination of the bay, although at ſome miles diſtant. From the top of ſome of thoſe elevated ſituations, the moſt beautiful proſpect towards the Ocean is exhibited as far as the eye can reach, when even aſſiſted by the beſt of perſpective glaſſes. What adds conſiderably to both the advantage and pleaſantneſs of theſe ſituations is their direction, Eaſt and Weſt; whence there is a gradual deſcent Southward, which not only affords excellent water, but an agreeable ſlope for indulging the moſt refined taſte in elegant improvement.

It may with ſome degree of propriety be further noticed, that ſhould Congreſs fix upon this ſituation for the permanent ſeat, they will not only be nearly central, but in the leading high way of communication from North to South. In this ſituation they will certainly avoid thoſe evils which a popular and commercial city would expoſe them to, and that undue influence which cannot but be experienced by a legiſlature ſurrounded by men, whoſe intereſt, may be oppoſed to the community at large, and thoſe inconveniences and dangers in this reſpect, were lately ſo juſtly pointed out by an honorable member of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,* when in a committee of the whole, the ſubject of funding the public debt was under diſcuſſion.

A SPECTATOR.

* *General Jackſon's Speech.*

EXTRACT *from an* ESSAY *on* AGRICULTURE.

By The Baron POELLNITZ.

[*Printed by* CHILDS *and* SWAINE—*New-York.*]

IN the dark, as we are in general, about the means of nature, there is now and then a glimpſe of light which ſhines in our eyes, and will guide us to ſome diſcovery! One great man, by ſeeing a pear drop from a tree, diſcovered the laws of gravitation; another no leſs renowned, by ſeeing a kite, the plaything of children, fly, conceived from it, and executed to command the thunder of Heaven: So will often a trifle be ſeized by men of ſuperior genius, and they will make it the baſis for inſtruction to mankind.

But the enquiry is to be, how Nature has produced wheat? Was there a previous dunghill, or is it by means of dung the produce of man's induſtry? A ſmile will be the anſwer; NO will be the reſult of the queſtion.

What are then the laws, whereby to all appearance nature fructifies the earth, and produces plants of every kind? 'Till convinced of error, by arguments grounded on phyſical and chymical experiments, I will be bold to ſay, that though there may be various concurrent ones, nevertheleſs, ſimple laws are commonly the promoters; thoſe which I will mention ſtand probably foremoſt in rank.

I ſay, the influence of air, with all its different characters and viciſſitudes, the ſun or light, the mixture of earths carried on by ſtrong rains and overflow of waters, are the laws and vehicles of vegetation.

How far it is in man's power to apply theſe principles to agriculture, I ſhall curſorily conſider; and in this, as well as in what I have ſaid in the former paragraph, I am warranted, by what the learned have proved by experimental philoſophy, and by what I have been taught by my own ſmall experience.

John Tull was the firſt who went off from the beaten tract, and put new rules of agriculture in practice; his ſyſtem was in part erroneous, though part of it entitles him to our grateful remembrance. John Tull was laughed at, ſo was Chriſtopher Columbus, till facts gave credit to his diſcovery, and proclaimed his merit. But, without going into diſcuſſions of old ſyſtems, or in all the quotations of new ones, I will come to the point.

By deep and frequent plowing, we expoſe the ſurface of the earth to more light, and to all the influences of air; hereby we help the operation of nature in that caſe. By mixing our ſoil with ſoils of different qualities, we obtain what nature does by rains, and overflow of waters: By thoſe manuductions, art improves, facilitates, and amplifies the means of nature to procure vegetation, and thus wheat may be raiſed in any quantity.

I mean not to detract from the uſe of dung; putrified animal and vegetable bodies, accumulated in our dung-hills, are uſeful acceſſaries to vegetation: but is the ſurface of the earth not alſo a compoſition of thoſe ingredients, though therein contained, no doubt for the beſt, with other mixtures. Dung gives a ſtrong additional heat, and ſome plants will not thrive without; but wheat can be raiſed independent of a dung-hill.

I go farther and ſay, that ſowing wheat upon freſh dunged land is prejudicial.—Commonly I uſe no dung to my wheat, but only on a previous ſummer fallow; and I call a ſummer fallow, land well dunged early in the ſpring, and ſown in with turnips, cabbages, carrots, beans, peas, lentils, parſnips, potatoes, flax, hemp or early corn, on this I ſow wheat in the fall with ſucceſs, and ſo avoid ſmut, numbers of weeds and inſects, promoted and foſtered by freſh dung.

EDUCATION.

THE importance of manners, or graceful deportment in inſtructors of youth, has been too little attended to. The acquiſition of ſcientific knowledge is an object of unſpeakable conſequence—but MANNERS form the man—and the future happineſs and ſucceſs of children are more intimately connected with a juſt, an eaſy, and dignified mode of addreſs than they are with the bare attainments of a common ſchool education. The WORCESTER SPECULATOR, No. 74, contains among many others, the following judicious remarks.

"I was pleaſed with an obſervation which a "ſenſible farmer made ſome time ago, when a "number were converſing on the qualifications "of ſchool maſters. He lived in a town that was "noted for the neglect of ſchools, and for endeavoring to evade the law reſpecting grammar "ſchools. It was his opinion, he ſaid, that tho "a common man might be found capable of "teaching children to ſpell, read, write, and cypher with exactneſs, yet a *gentleman* (as he expreſſed himſelf) tho not more capable in theſe "reſpects, was greatly to be preferred, becauſe "of the influence and ſkill he would have in eſtabliſhing decency and order in the ſchool, and "in forming the manners of the children, and in "preventing or curing any aukwardneſs in their "way of ſpeaking or behaving. An obſervation "this, worthy of the conſideration of thoſe whoſe "buſineſs it is to provide ſchoolmaſters, or to employ them."

FROM THE LITCHFIELD WEEKLY MONITOR.

ADVICE TO THE PUBLIC.

WE find in the newſpapers an extract of a letter from the Weſt-Indies, complaining of the badneſs of American flour, being ſpoiled by meal-worms and mites; and the writer wiſhes to know the cauſe of it—which every one ought to know—for which reaſon, I will inform, thoſe mites are bred in hot weather, in mills and meal-rooms, and in ſtore cheſts. In the month of June let the miller clean his rooms and cheſts of all the unmoved meal and bran—in every hole and corner, and every crack—and inſtead thereof ſtrew fine ſalt, and make ſmoke in his mill—then let him dreſs his mill ſo as it may not heat in grinding, and bolt and pack the flour as ſoon as may be—the ſooner the better, for the mites proceed from an imperceptible, winged inſect, which hovers about in ſtill weather, and meal is their agreeable habitation in the ſilent night.

I once put a buſhel of new flour in my open meal trough and it was ſpoiled in a few hot nights—but the mites were there before. Flour for domeſtic uſe, will keep beſt in good bags in hot weather. As to the meal-worms complained of, they are not bred in the timber of the caſk, as the writer is informed—if they were, the jarring of the cooper's ax and hammer, and fire and ſmoke would ſtop their progreſs. They breed in old meal and bran, and make their way thro worm-holes and bad joints of the caſk:—There ſhould be made ſmoke in meal-rooms a little before ſun-down, that thoſe winged inſects, which may be ſeen in the rays of the ſun, may go forth. When the flour is packed, waſh the barrels with ſtrong brine and lime.

A LITCHFIELD MILLER.

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